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SUBJECT: MAJOR POLITICAL ISSUES SHAPING PARTY TACTICS IN ANTI-

CIPATION OF REGIONAL ELECTIONS

REF: ROME 17339, 17846

SUMMARY: FIVE MAJOR ISSUES HAVE QUICKLY COME TO THE FORE IN THE NEW YEAR TO SHAPE THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE AS THE PARTIES BEGIN THEIR PREPARATIONS FOR THE SPRING REGIONAL ELECTIONS. THE MOST IMPORTANT BY FAR, THE OPENING OF SEVERAL LOCAL GOVERNMENTS TO INCREASED FORMAL COMMUNIST PARTY (PCI) COLLABORATION, HAD ALREADY EXPLODED OVER THE HOLIDAYS (ROME 17846 AND SEPTEL) AND IS LIKELY TO PERSIST THROUGH AND BEYOND THE REGIONAL AND LOCAL ELECTIONS WHICH ARE GENERALLY EXPECTED TO BE HELD IN EARLY JUNE. THE OTHERS, CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY SECRETARY FANFANI'S CONTROVERSIAL LAWAND-ORDER PROPOSALS, RAI-TV REFORM (ROME 17339), UNION-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS, AND ABORTION ALL HAVE THE POTENTIAL TO BECOME TESTS FOR THE CENTER-LEFT MAJORITY, ALTHOUGH THEY DO NOT APPEAR TO POSE ANY IMMINENT DANGER FOR THE STABILITY OF THE COALITION END SUMMARY.

1. AT A JANUARY 16 MEETING OF THE DC DIRECTORATE FANFANI PRESENTED A COMPREHENSIVE AND DETAILED SERIES OF PROPOSALS IN THE LAW AND ORDER FIELD. HIS PURPOSE IN DEVOTING A PARTY MEETING CONFIDENTIAL

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TO A GOVERNMENTAL POLICY ISSUE OF GREAT PUBLIC INTEREST APPEARS

TO HAVE BEEN TWOFOLD. ON THE ONE HAND, A FIRM DC STAND IN FAVOR OF A MORE VIGOROUS FIGHT AGAINST THE GROWING INCIDENCE OF COMMON CRIMINALITY AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE IS A GOOD WAY TO KICK OFF PARTY PREPARATIONS FOR THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS EXPECTED IN JUNE. ON THE OTHER, FANFANI NO DOUBT IS ANXIOUS TO KEEP THE INITIATIVE WITHIN HIS PARTY IN THE FACE OF RISING LEFT WING CRITICISM OF HIS STWEWARDSHIP AND ATTEMPTS TO FOCUS DEBATE ON THIS ISSUE. FANFANI'S MOST CONTROVERSIAL PROPOSALS INCLUDE CALLS FOR FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION OF THE LAW ON POLICE ARRESTS (WITHOUT WARRANT), WHICH HAS LONG BEEN BITTERLY OPPOSED BY THE LEFT, ENFORCEMENT OF LEGISLATION AIMED AT CURBING PORNOG-RAPHY AND MEDIA VIOLENCE, AND A BAN ON POLITICAL AFFILIATION OF MAGISTRATES. IN ADDITION, FANFANI CALLED FOR A SERIES OF MEASURES DESIGNED TO TIGHTEN UP LEGISLATION IN THE FIELD OF FIREARMS CONTROL AND THE GRANTING OF PROVISIONAL LIBERTY SPEED UP SENTENCING. REFORM THE PENAL SYSTEM AND REORGANIZE BOTH THE POLICE AND INTELLIGENCE SERVICES BY DIVIDING THEM ALONG FUNCTIONAL LINES. FANFANI'S PROPOSALS WERE APPROVED BY THE PARTY DIRECTORATE WITH THE ABSTENTION OF THE LEFT WING BASE AND FORZE NOUOVE FACTIONS. PREMIER MORO WAS OUICK TO POINT OUT THAT THE PROPOSALS REPRESENTED ONLY THE DC POINT OF VIEW AND THAT THE GOVERNMENT MAJORITY NATURALLY IS A QUOTE COMPOSITE UNQUOTE ONE. THEREFORE, HE CAUTIONED, THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER CENTER-LEFT PARTIES MUST BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT. INITIAL SOCIALIST REACTION TO THE FANFANI PROPOSALS WAS OVERWHELIMINGLY NEGATIVE. HOWEVER, MORE CAUTIONS JUDGEMENTS WERE LATER EXPRESSED REJECTING CERTAIN PARTS OF FANFANI'S PROGRAM, BUT RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR AN INTENSIFIED FIGHT AGAINST CRIME. COMMUNIST REACTION WAS MORE CAUTIOUS BUT ALONG SIMILAR LINES. UNDERLYING THE REACTION OF THE LEFT WAS OBVIOUS CHAGRIN THAT FANFANI HAD SIEZED THE INITIATIVE ON A POPULAR ISSUE WHICH THEY CANNOT EASILY OPPOSE.

2. RAI-TV REFORM -- CONSIDERATION ON THE RAI-TV REFORM LAW HAD HARDLY BEGUN AFTER THE HOLIDAY RECESS, WHEN THE MAJORITY PARTIES REALIZED THAT THE JANUARY 29 SIXTY DAY DEADLINE FOR CONVERTING THE DECREE INTO LAW COULD NOT BE MET IN THE FACE OF FAR RIGHT (MSI) OBSTRUCTIONISM, LIBERAL PARTY (PLI) OPPOSITION, AND THEIR OWN DIFFERENCES ON SPECIFIC MEASURES OF THE LAW. TO ALLOW MORE TIME, THE GOVERNMENT IS WITHDRAWING THE NOVEMBER 30 DECREE AND SUBSTITCONFIDENTIAL

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UTING ANOTHER WITH THE FEW CHANGES AGREED TO IN COMMITTEE.
IMPLEMENTATION OF THE REFORM'S MAJOR MEASURES HAS THEREBY BEEN
PUT OFF SIXTH DAYS WITH NO GUARANTEE THAT PARLIAMENTARY CONSIDERATION
WILL BE COMPLETED WITHIN THAT TIME. THE MSI WILL CONTINUE ITS
OBSTRUCTION, AND THE PLI ITS OPPOSITION. (COMMENT: WHILE THE ISSUE
WILL REMAIN A MAJOR PARLIAMENTARY HURDLE, IT HAS BEEN DESCRIBED
BY EMBASSY SOURCES AS MORE SMOKE THAN FIRE IN TERMS OF ITS
POTENTIAL TO SPLIT THE MAJORITY. NEITHER THE MAJORITY PARTIES,

WHICH, AFTER ALL, NEGOTIATED IT, NOR THE PCI OPPOSITION WHICH IS BASICALLY HAPPY WITH IT, IS LIKELY TO CARRY AGITATION FOR MINOR CHANGES TO EXTREMES. FOR THE PCI, MOREOVER, THE SITUATION HAS THE ADVANTAGE OF PUTTING IT IN AN AD HOC ALLIANCE WITH THE MAJORITY AGAINST QUOTE NEO-FASCIST OBSTRUCTIONISM UNQUOTE).

- 3. ABORTION: AT LEAST SINCE FEBRUARY 1973 WHEN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSI) DIVORCE CHAMPION LORIS FORTUNA PRESENTED HIS ABORTION BILL IN PARLIAMENT. THE ISSUE HAS BY TACIT CONSENT BEEN AVOIDED BY THE MAJORITY PARTIES, INCLUDING THE SOCIALISTS. NOW. THE RECENT CLOSURE OF AN ILLEGAL ABORTION CLINIC IN FLORENCE, AND THE ARREST OF THE MINUSCULE RADICAL PARTY'S SECRETARY, GIANFRANCO SPADACCIA, WHO OPENLY ADMITTED SPONSOR-SHIP OF THE CLINIC, HAS BROUGHT THE ISSUE CENTER STAGE. (THOUGH SMALL AND DISORGANIZED. THE RADICAL PARTY ENJOYS WIDE SYMPATHY AMONG INTELLECTUALS OF THE LAY PARTIES FOR ITS CRUSADING ON CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUES.) THESE CLAMOROUS DEVELOPMENTS HAVE FORCED PARTIES AND POLITICIANS TO TAKE POSITIONS BOTH ON THE ARREST, AND ITALY'S SEVERE PENAL SANCTIONS AGAINST ABORTION WHICH DATE BACK TO FASCIST TIMES. THE REPUBLICAN PARTY (PRI), AMONG OTHERS. HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT WILL INTRODUCE LEGISLATION TO AMEND THE LAW, BUT NOTHING SHORT OF LEGALIZATION OF ABORTION WILL SATISFY THE CRUSADERS. A SUPREME COURT DECISION ON THE CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE LAW IS IMMINENT AND MAY ADD FUEL TO THE FIRE.
- 4. UNION-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS. A SERIES OF IMPENDING AGREE-MENTS BETWEEN THE UNIONS, GOVERNMENT AND MANAGMENT HAVE LARGELY DEFUSED THIS ISSUE, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING (ROME 691 AND 752) THE ECONOMIC SITUATION REMAINS DIFFICULT, BUT FOR THE PRESENT THE GOVERNMENT STILL HAS ENOUGH MARGIN BETWEEN SOME ACCOMMODATION OF UNION DEMANDS, AND THE REQUIREMENT FOR FINANCIAL AUSTERITY THAT REPUBLICAN MEMBERSHIP IN THE GOVERNMENT DEMANDS.

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5. COMMENT: SINCE ITS FORMATION IN EARLY DECEMBER, THE
CONSENSUS HAS GRADULLY GROWN THAT THE PROSPECTS FOR THE MORO
GOVERNMENT'S SHORT TERM SURVIVAL HAVE IMPROVED. THIS IS NOT
TO SAY THAT CASSANDRAS HAVE YET BEEN PROVEN WRONG. THE MORO
GOVERNMENT CONTINUES ITS SERENE COURSE THANKS TO MORO'S
APPARENTLY INEXHAUSTABLE RESERVES OF CALM, AND HIS TALENT
FOR SUCCESSFUL PROCRASTINATION JUST WHEN THE INEXPERIENCED
MORO WATCHER WOULD SAY THAT THE NETTLE MUST FINALLY BE GRASPED.
IT IS TRUE THAT MORO'S BASIC PESSIMISM AND SEEMING LACK OF
VIGOR GENERALLY ADD UP TO A PICTURE OF DRIFT IN THE EYES OF
THE CENTER AND RIGHT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRAT PARTY, BUT MORO
IS THE BEST MAN THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS CAN MUSTER FOR THE JOB
IN THE PRE-ELECTORAL PERIOD. AND THE DUMPING OF TAVIANI,
EX-MINISTER OF THE INERIOR, IS A CONTINUING SOP TO THE CONSERVATIVES, WHO ALSO HEARD WITH PLEASURE THE RECENT STATEMENTS

OF FANFANI AND INTERIOR MINISTER GUI, THAT VIOLENCE AND ATTEMPTS AGAINST PUBLIC ORDER ARE BAD WHETHER THEY COME FROM THE LEFT OR THE RIGHT. UNPLEASANT AS THIS EVEN-HANDEDNESS MAY BE TO THE LEFT. THE SOCIALISTS EXPECT TO GET THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS ON TIME, AS THEY WISHED, AND APPARENTLY INTEND TO POSTPONE ANY REAL CONFRONTATIONS WITH GUI OR FANFANI UNTIL THE HARVEST OF REGIONAL PSI VOTES IS IN THE BARN. FOR THEIR PART, THE REPUBLICANS ARE HOLDING A QUOTE LET'S GET ON WITH THE JOB UNQUOTE ATTITUDE SO FAR, DESPITE THE FINANCIAL CON-CESSIONS THE GOI IS MAKING AND WILL MAKE IN DEALING WITH THE UNIONS. THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, ONCE BURNED AND TWICE SHY SINCE THEIR EFFORT AT THE END OF LAST YEAR TO FORCE EARLY NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOW HAVE TO MAKE DO WITH THE SMALL SATIS-FACTION THAT THEIR VIEWS ARE MORE CONSONANT WITH THE LINE OF THE GOI THAN ARE THOSE OF THE SOCIALISTS. NO ONE IS ENTIRELY HAPPY, BUT NO ONE WANTS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BLOWING THE WHISTLE. IN THESE UNCERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES THE GENERAL EXPECTATION IS GROWING THAT BARRING UNFORESEEN SHOCK, THE FOURTH MORO GOVERNMENT WILL SEE THE REGIONAL ELECTIONS HELD IN JUNE, ON SCHEDULE. VOLPE

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